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AUTHOR Hall, Budd L.
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ABSTRACT

Increased participation in decision-making at the grass-roots level is one of the principal objectives of Tanzania's development strategy. Since the political decision to commit Tanzania to a path of socialism, restructuring the educational system has become a cornerstone to achieving the desired participation. This paper focuses on case studies of the adult education network, a mass health education campaign, and an experimental community school project. Constraints and contradictions within the Tanzanian system include the continued use of achievement exams at the end of primary school, as well as conflicts between expectations for "Education for Self-Reliance" and the reality of incomplete structural changes in the economic system. The resolution of these conflicts lies in the production of the rural education system and in increasing links with production where such links do not yet exist. (Author)

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PARTICIPATION AND EDUCATION IN TANZANIA

by

BUDD L. HALL

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Increased participation in development decision-making at a grass-roots level is one of the principle objectives of Tanzania's development strategy. Following the political decisons to commit Tanzania to a path of transformation to socialism a re-structured educational system has become a cornerstone to achieving the desired participation. This paper focuses on three case studies: the adult education network, a mass health education campaign and an experimental community school project. Constraints and contradictions within the Tanzanian system include the continued use of achievement exams at the end of primary school and conflicts between expectations for Education for Self Reliance and the reality of as yet incomplete structural changes in the economic system. The resolution of these conflicts lies in the production of the rural education system and increasing links with production where such links do not yet exist

"The objective of socialism in Tanzania is to build a society in which all members have equal rights and equal opportunities; in which all can live in peace.... without suffering or imposing injustice, being exploited or exploiting; in which all have a gradually increasing level of material welfare before any individual lives in luxury."

(Socialism and Rural Development)

Introduction

1. The population, the entire population is seen as the heart of development in Tanzania. Tanzania in its attempts to create an egalitarian society bases its development strategy on the mobilization of people and not on objects. Egalitarian and self-reliant development is seen to be based on four resources: people, land, good leadership and ideas. Development is based consciously on the involvement of people in development decisions. "If development is to benefit the people, then the people have to participate in the discussion of development plans". (TANU Party Guidelines).

2. Education is seen as being central to the development process. Particular emphasis has been put on the provision of education for population groups who are not in schools. In 1974 nearly 4 million adults (three times the school population) were enrolled in learning groups and classes studying such things as political education, literacy, rural construction skills, agriculture and disease prevention.

The formal schools as well have introduced many structural changes designed to render them more directly contributory to an increase in the quality of rural living and such things as a decrease in migration of school leavers to towns.

3. Because of Tanzania's ideology and its apparent success in turning ideology in specific reforms and projects, Tanzania provides a relevant model for reflections, particularly by those concerned with questions of population, participation and education, on some central questions of educational planning and the role of international co-operation in the support of educational innovation.

Primacy of the Political Decision

The fundamental consideration which must be borne in mind when

reflecting on the Tanzanian experience and its implications for planning and international cooperation, is that a political decision preceded all attempts at major educational reform in Tanzania. The political decision to stress socialist development with priority to people living in rural areas preceded the reforms as outlined in Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) and seen in the development of the adult education network. The ideology of development as articulated in several key documents (The Arusha Declaration, Educational for Self-Reliance, Socialism and Rural Development, TANU party Guidelines (Mwongozo), Decentralisation) permeates projects and plans and is a yard-stick by which new ideas are measured.

A second point that should be made is that the creation of a truly participatory society which puts ideas of equity and distribution fully into practice, is extremely difficult even with the full weight, support and financial strength of the government behind the reforms. The reasons for this are not the subject of this paper but can perhaps be most satisfactorily understood from a materialist perspective with its concern for class, as the fundamental division of population into groups.

Principal Means of the Transition to Socialism.

1. The establishment of Ujamaa (cooperative) villages. By the end of 1974 there were at least 7,500 Ujamaa villages grouping about 3 million people (30% of the agricultural self-employment). (Green 1974)

   This represents a significant change in a nation where rural population has been scattered in extended family dwellings traditionally.

2. Financial priority to Ujamaa villages and rural programmes generally.

   There has been a gradual shift since 1967 within Ministries and organisations towards rural oriented services where appropriate. The national libraries have put a great deal of money into rural library services for example, and there has been a shift within the Ministry of National Health from urban oriented curative medical services to rural centred curative and preventative medicines (Gish 1975)

3. Altering of the formal school structure.

Education for Self-Reliance, which followed the Arusha Declaration in 1967 outlined radical changes in the concept of the school in order to adapt it more closely to Tanzanian objectives. For the purpose of this study one of the more important aspects was the call for village schools to become true community schools. Schools were to be integrated into the social and economic life of the community. Emphasis is to be placed on those rural activities which reflect the future of the majority of people who will remain within the village rather than the minority who will pass examinations and leave.

4. Decentralisation of government and structural encouragement of popular participation.

These are seen as integrally related by TANU and the Tanzanian Government, if not necessarily by all of its civil servants and public sector managers. Decentralisation of Ministries from national to regional levels has been an attempt to make government more responsive to local needs and small scale projects and policies and to provide access for more effective public participation. In principle decentralisation and participation are to be achieved through regional and district government units with wide powers, and with district and regional development committees with non-civil service majorities as policy and planning formulation bodies, and the Ujamaa villages with their member-elected management committees. Strong workers' councils and workers' directors of parastatal productive units are also envisaged. (Green, 1974)

5. Establishment and support of widespread adult education programmes.

The provision of increased adult education services to the bulk of the population is an integral part of the strategy to increase participation in decision making and reduce rural/urban income inequalities. 1970 was named adult education year and brought with it the consolidation of adult education within the Ministry of National Education and the beginning of a network of adult education officers which has now grown to roughly 2,000 people (for

more complete information see Ministry of National Education, Adult Education and National Development in Tanzania).

Role of Education in Development.

Education is regarded as a tool for the development of the people and liberation of man; that is, it stresses the values, practices and attitudes which are pertinent in changing the living conditions of the majority of Tanzanians. Furthermore, education is geared towards imparting or making improvements in the skills, attitudes and knowledge of the recipient and of the community at large. It seeks to give emphasis to practical knowledge which is relevant and to respond to the needs of the community and of the society.

Therefore the strategy adopted is to provide some forms of education to all those who live and work in the rural areas - men, women and children. This implies the widening of the range of educational services and programmes available to the rural communities and using newer forms of education as instruments for transforming production and improving living conditions.

Education is viewed as "learning about anything at all which can help to understand the environment we live in, and the manner in which we can change and use this environment in order to improve ourselves." (Nyerere: 1970) There is no limit on the kinds of things one should learn. This viewpoint does not specify who should learn and when one should stop learning. It is a message to every Tanzanian, whether old or young, that learning is a lifelong process.

Living, learning and working cannot be separated. "In a country dedicated to change, we must accept that education and working are both parts of living and should continue from birth until we die. If we are to make real progress in 'adult education', it is essential that we should stop trying to divide up life into sections, one of which is for education and another, longer, one of which is for work - with occasional time off for 'courses'" (Nyerere: 1971)

The role of adult education in development

> "I have said that adult education is of paramount importance to national development; it would be more true to say that the two are inseparable."
>
> (R.Kawawa, Second Vice President)

President Nyerere declared in his December 1969 New Year's Eve Speech to the nation that 1970 would be dedicated to adult education. The objectives of adult education as outlined in that speech are threefold:

"1. To shake ourselves out of a resignation to the the kind of life Tanzanian people have lived for centuries past;

2. To learn how to improve our lives;

3. To understand our national policies of socialist and self-reliance." (Nyerere, 1971: 3)

In discussing the first objective Nyerere emphasised the fact that people must become aware of what they can do for themselves.

> "Adult Education will make us recognise that we ourselves have the ability to obtain better houses, better tools and better health" (Nyerere; 1971:3)

It is significant that this objective has been put first for it points out the importance of consciousness in the development process.

The Directorate of Adult Education with the Ministry of National Education outlined the role it saw for adult education in the context of development as:

"1. to mobilise the rural and urban masses into a better understanding of our national policies of socialism and self-reliance;

2. to provide leadership training in various aspects of life at all levels;

3. to eradicate illiteracy;

4. to give knowledge and skills in agriculture and rural construction, health and home economics that will raise people's productivity;

5. to provide follow-up education for primary and secondary school leavers with the view of settling them in Ujamaa villages;

6. to provide continuing education to professionals at various stages in the form of seminars, evening classes, in service training programmes, correspondence courses and vocational training."

(Ministry of National Education, 1972: 15)

Tanzania is committed to development which stresses popular participation of the people in decision making. This kind of participation is a sharp break with colonial and post-Independence policies. It requires a level of consciousness and awareness that cannot come without a wide reaching education programme.

Case Study 1. The Adult Education Network.

The fundamental adult education structure is the adult education network which came into existence at the time of the President's New Year's Speech. The establishment of this network within the Ministry of National Education brought all matters pertaining to education under one administration. This re-organisation is designed to enable the ministry to initiate, supervise and evaluate a large part of the national educational effort with a higher degree of integration than was possible with adult education located mainly within the Ministry of Community Development.

The basic unit of the network is the community school, which serves during part of the day as the primary school for children while operating in the afternoons as an adult education centre. As adult education classes have expanded many schools have become centres for from 5-20 sub-centres (adult education stations) which meet in specially built shelters, community centres, TANU leader's homes or just under a shady tree. The total number of adults enrolled in classes exceeded the number enrolled in primary school for the first time in 1971 (1.2 million). In September 1974 there were about 3.4 million persons registered for classes. Each class has a class committee which is responsible for the maintenance of good attendance and provision of materials. In some parts of the country the local class committee selects its own teacher, someone who they believe will be able to teach a particular subject

well, and then has this choice approved by the ward coordinators. As Mhaiki, the first Assistant Director for Adult Education, has said "If members of the village or the class are given the responsibility to decide on what they want to learn, when and where they want to learn and how they want it done, then there are chances that such a scheme will be successful". (Mhaiki and Hall, 1972: section III)

The subjects that are taught at each community school and each adult education centre vary depending on the interests of the people in the area, the availability of teachers, and the development priorities in the district. Table I indicates the types of subjects offered and enrolments during 1970 and 1971.

Table I

Enrolment in Adult Education Classes by Subject.

	1970	1971
Political Education	127,331	318,509
Better farming methods	83,350	231,845
Health	101,206	214,162
Literacy	195,007	661,351
Domestic Science	42,501	116,612
Typewriting	3,495	2,046
Craftsmanship	12,712	18,426
Arithmetic/Kiswahili/History	39,229	364,064
English	21,474	75,425
Culture	11,189	24,114
Economics	2,331	7,984
Militia	1,495	3,802
Others	2,939	4,741

Source: Ministry of National Education, Idadi ya EWW

The 'army' of teachers to which the Ministry often refers is composed of a variety of people: TANU officials, extension agents in agriculture, rural development, health or cooperatives, church leaders and standard seven school leavers are all involved in the teaching of various subjects.

The sources for teachers vary with the subject being taught. TANU officials teach political education largely, while the specialists from individual ministries such as health or agriculture, teach the subjects falling within their areas of specialisation.

Primary school teachers, who most often teach literacy and arithmetic, are given two hours released time from their school room schedule to teach adults.

"Volunteer" teachers form the largest category. These are largely young people in the area who have completed seven years of primary school and are interested in teaching adults reading, writing and arithmetic. When sufficient funds are available these teachers receive honoraria of $4.25 per month. In December 1974 there were roughly 100,000 adult education teachers.

Field Staff

In order to carry out the large tasks assigned to adult education a network of supervisory and coordinating personnel has been established. This network has grown from 62 District Adult Education Officers in 1970 to nearly 2,300 full and part-time people in 1974. The duties of the administrative and supervisory staff are as follows:

1. To assist in opening and maintaining adult classes in their areas of work;
2. To recruit part-time teachers when necessary;
3. To be responsible for careful use of both finance and materials allocated to adult education;
4. To encourage, support and inspect classes;
5. To organize training seminars for adult educators;
6. To work in good cooperation with people in government departments, in TANU and in private organizations;
7. To know all forms of adult education, and all organizations carrying out adult education in their areas so that they can advise;
8. To work together with TANU to mobilise people in adult education, especially on literacy day;

9. To publicise adult education activities by working together with the information officer;

10. To submit a report of adult education activities in their areas to TANU and the Ministry of National Education;

11. To make sure that adult education committees are formed and are effective;

12. To give orientation to primary and secondary school teachers on how to teach adults before they embark on teaching them. (Mhaiki and Hall, 1972, section III)

Four types of programmes

The existence of the network of adult education centres and organizers makes it possible for at least four types of adult education programmes to operate. The national literacy campaign is the main activity of the network at this time. This campaign, which follows the pattern of functional literacy which was begun in the Work Oriented Adult Literacy Pilot Project in the Lake Victoria regions of Tanzania offers literacy through the medium of primers oriented to 12 economically functional activities such as wheat growing, rice cultivation, fishing, cattle raising, cotton growing, tobacco growing and curing and homecrafts. In addition there is one primer which deals more generally with national policies. In order to ensure that the agricultural knowledge has some chance of being integrated into the teaching, each class has a piece of land allocated to it for agricultural demonstration and practice.

The second type of education which goes on through this network on a national level is the discussion of national policies. Nearly all the adult education stations carry on some discussion of national policies. These discussions, based usually on the major policy documents such as The Arusha Declaration Socialism and Rural Development or Mwongozo (TANU Party Guidelines) are lively and animated with the implications for local situations actively brought in. Widespread discussion of political ideas is seen by TANU and the government as one of the most important factors in the development of a socialist Tanzania.

campaigns. In 1973 for example a nation-wide health education campaign called 'Man is Health'[1] was launched with the coordinated effort of the Ministry of National Education, the Institute of Adult Education, The Health Education Unit of the Ministry of Health, the Rural Development division of the Prime Minister's office, TANU and the Education section of the Ministry of Agriculture. Although this campaign was jointly sponsored, the day to day organization and supervision was provided by the network of adult education officers. The adult education centres provided many of the locations for the 75,000 study groups and the staged training system was based on the administrative units of the adult education network.

Another use of the network has been the large number of local adult education programmes that have sprung up as a result of having facilities and encouragement. In addition to the several national adult education efforts in Tanzania, the adult education committees at the lowest level are constantly developing ideas for classes or activities which are only of interest to one or another particular area. This is, of course, one of the main strengths of the network and one of the principal reasons for its existence. Local cultural activities such as history discussions or dance flourish at some centres, the discussion of specific agricultural problems at others.

Case Study 2 - 'Man is Health' Campaign

The campaign had three objectives:

1. To increase participants' awareness of and to encourage group action on measures which groups and individuals can take to make their lives healthier.
2. To provide information about the symptoms and prevention of specific disease.
3. For those who had participated in the national literacy campaign, to encourage the maintenance of newly acquired reading skills by providing suitable follow-up-materials.

Two elements were fundamental to the fulfilment of these

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[1] See my article 'Conscientization by Radio in Tanzania' in IDS Bulletin vol. 6, no. 3, IDS Sussex.

objectives. First, there were pre-existing structures available to implement the plans. Second, the planning was not rushed and it was thoroughly systematic.

Tanzania has built a widespread adult education network under the administration of the Ministry of National Education. It is composed of nearly 2000 national, regional, district and divisional adult education coordinators and supervisors. These personnel are responsible to the thousands of adult education centres which operate using primary schools as bases. They are paralleled by a network of health education officers. Both sets of personnel were largely responsible for the day to day operation of the campaign, from the training of group leaders to encouragement during the broadcasting. They were supplemented by the networks of TANU and the Rural Development Division.

The planning for the campaign began 18 months before the first radio broadcast went on the air and was carried out under the guidance of a national coordinating committee which met as often as weekly during the more intense planning periods. The importance of this committee is that from the beginning as many agencies as were necessary to the success of the campaign were involved. A mass campaign at a rural level cannot be carried out by the activities of only one sector or one agency. It requires the coordinated efforts of all agencies working in the rural areas. At village level in this campaign the adult education personnel worked with the rural development extension officers, the local TANU officials and the health education personnel in organizing groups before the campaign and in giving the groups support, once the radio programmes were under way.

The Staged Training System.

Experience from the earlier radio study group campaigns indicated that a trained study group leader was essential to successful group activity. One of the most important reasons for training group leaders is to convey the message that group leaders are not teachers. A leader does not tell the group what to do or how to do it. The group leader is

given training to guide group studies, to understand that he is only 'first among equals'. He must be trained in tact: to encourage the withdrawn, subdue the over-dominant and generally stimulate full participation. It is equally important to provide suggestions to leaders on how to move from discussion to action in the groups.

Logistically, the Tanzanian scheme required 75,000 study group leaders at divisional levels. There were seven regional seminars for 200 participants (30 per seminar); 61 district level seminars for 1400 participants (25 per seminar), and 2000 divisional seminars for roughly 75000 study group leaders (37 per seminar). All the seminars lasted from two to three days.

An important lesson from this experience at mass training is that it is possible to ensure that the central elements of the training message survive the diffusion process from the first through to the last stages. That is, no vital element need be damaged by dilution. This is one of the most crucial aspects in the development of a mass campaign. In the Tanzanian case, the key elements of the training message were maintained by several devices: centrally prepared hand-outs (duplicated locally): the use of prepared flip-over charts summarizing the most important points of training: pre-recorded cassettes of simulated radio programmes for role-playing experience; and copies of the actual materials to be used in the campaign.

The groups in action

The pattern which was most often followed by groups during the campaign was as follows:

1. Assemble during the gathering time - the radio plays music related to the campaign, political songs, poems and short announcements;
2. The group members listen to the 20-minute radio programme;
3. The group leader or someone in the group who can, reads aloud the appropriate section of the text;
4. Discussion begins first with the question of the relevance

of the material presented to the actual circumstances of the group's members;

5. Discussion takes place about various persons' experience with the disease, alternative causes of the disease and possible ways of preventing it;

6. Resolutions are made and agreed upon by the group for specific actions which could be implemented in the village;

7. During the ensuing week - before the next programme - the resolutions are carried out by the group members and, most likely, others in the village.

A major difference between this campaign and previous attempts was the importance placed on action following discussions. The types of activities which individual groups undertook varied according to the reality in various areas. In a survey of 213 groups, it was found that clearing vegetation from around the homes was carried out by 28 per cent of the groups, digging, repairing or rebuilding latrines by 20 per cent, destroying areas of stagnant water by 24 per cent, boiling water by 12 per cent and cleaning the area around water supplies by 11 per cent. In one district, (Dodoma) about 200,000 latrines were built during the campaign period. The result at the end of the campaign was that not a single house was without a latrine. This happened in an area where colonial officers had tried to enforce latrine construction nearly 50 years previously with dismal results and much rancour. In one division in Iringa the people decided that having a latrine for each home was not enough. What, for example, could travellers use, while waiting on the side of the road for buses. The solution was obviously more latrines. It was agreed accordingly that one latrine would be built at each major bus stop in the area.

Attendance.

The national average attendance figure for the campaign was 63 per cent. That is, at any given session anywhere during the campaign, some 63 per cent of those enrolled were probably in attendance. This figure can only be meaningful when compared with the average attendance of other forms of rural

classes. The Ministry of National Education estimates that actual attendance at any given session for the nearly three million persons enrolled in adult education classes is about 33 per cent. The literacy project estimated between 25-40 per cent attendances per session. This means that the attendance figures for the short term campaign were quite satisfactory.

Evaluation of the Campaign.

Built into the campaign from the beginning was a series of measurements and sources of information designed to aid in an assessment of some aspects of the campaign. In addition to such routine interest as total enrolment, national distribution of groups and attendance rates, the evaluation design provided for the measurement of the amount of information gained through this method of study and a measurement of the change in observable household health practices as a result of the campaign.

As we start to examine the data from the control groups, we begin to run into some difficulties. Perhaps the foremost difficulty in selecting a control group during a campaign of this type is: how to find a group of people in an intensive campaign designed to mobilize everyone who has not taken part in the campaign in some way? In Mafia for example no control groups were chosen because it was said that in a national campaign of this sort all people had a right to participate in health education. In Itwara the situation was similarly difficult, as those in the control group were swept into the excitement of the campaign along with the other adult education students and began to study the material on their own. The result in this case was that the "control" group actually scored higher than the Mtu ni Afya (Man is Health) group.

Nevertheless the Mtu ni Afya groups showed a relative improvement of 47 per cent from the pre-test to the post-test, an increase from 43 per cent to 63 per cent. The control groups taken together scored a 35 per cent relative gain from 43 per cent to 58 per cent. The Mtu ni Afya groups scored higher than the control groups, but this difference was not

found to be statistically significant. Only when the scores from the energetic Mtwara "control" group are removed are the differences significant statistically. If the control group in Mtwara is excluded, the remaining control groups show an improvement of 21 per cent compared with the 47 per cent of all others. This difference is statistically significant as well.

Thus we can say that there is a difference between the scores of all control groups and all Mtu ni Afya groups, but that this difference, the better scores of the Mtui ni Afya groups, must be seen as a tendency only, not as a significant difference. However, if one excludes the group in Mtwara which actually participated in the campaign, the 47 per cent relative gain of the Mtu ni Afya groups is fully 26 per cent higher than the 21 per cent of the control groups. In this case the difference can be shown statistically not to be due to chance.

Changes in Health Practices.

Of particular importance to the campaign was the measurement of change in health practices. In a survey done of eight villages before and after the campaign a series of 11 observable health practices, such as the presence of a latrine, the use of the latrine, absence of broken pots and pools of stagnant water combined as a health practices "index". Each household was surveyed and could score between 0 and 12 depending on the number of positive practices observed. Before the campaign the mean health practices index for all houses in the eight villages (2084) was 3.0 or three out of eleven positive observed health practices. After the campaign the mean index was 4.8, a relative increase of 60 per cent. In real terms this means that each house in the entire sample improved their health environment by changing nearly two negative habits into positive ones. The largest change in these scores come from the digging and construction of pit latrines and clearing vegetation from the immediate vicinity of the house.

The final evaluation of any health education campaign must lie in the reduction of the incidence of disease. Provision for the measurement of the reduction of disease level was not

isolation of the multiple factors associated with good health would have proved impossible given the nature of the campaign and the records available. There have been reports of a large increase in the number of people attending rural dispensaries in many areas. There is proof that large numbers of people participated in the campaign; that people learned from this method and that literally millions of hours were put into environmental changes as a result of the campaign.

Finance.

The campaign was supported by a capital grant from the Swedish International Development Authority of 210,000 US dollars. Of this capital training accounted for roughly 36 per cent, printing of study materials 50 per cent, distribution another six per cent and radio production and research the remaining eight per cent. The actual production of the radio programme cost less than 600 dollars additional capital. This is because production of the radio programmes made use of the already existing broadcast and radio facilities at Radio Tanzania and of the services of health education and adult education broadcasters whose work was covered in salaries already being paid by their respective institutions. What this means is that the campaign was able to reach participants at an additional cost of roughly US $ 0.10 per enrolee.

Case Study 3. Kwamsisi Project.[2]

This project provides a very interesting example and sets the stage for further study in designing a curriculum which responds to the needs of the local community, a curriculum which fosters the integration of the school with the village

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[2] Source: Kinunda, M. "Experience in Tanzania in Identifying and Satisfying Local needs in Education" paper for IIED Seminar for UNESCO Experts on "Planning for local communities" December, 1974.

so as to prepare the pupils for active participation in the development, maintenance and service of the community. It was conducted at the Kwamsisi Primary School, better known as the Kwamsisi Community Education Centre in Kwamsisi Ujamaa Village, situated 15 km from the town of Korogwe.

The Kwamsisi project was conceived and designed with two major considerations in mind:

- That the new curriculum should further the national objectives for Primary Education, and
- That it should be built around centres of interests and needs which are not only relevant but form an integral part of the life of the village community. For example, the development projects of the village should be the development projects of the school and the development projects of the village.

Objectives

The following objectives were stated in 1971:

- The development of literacy and numeracy
- The development of a socialist citizenry with particular emphasis on
  - * Self reliance
  - * Social and human equality
  - * The skills, values and attitudes necessary for good health, hard work and better life in the Ujamaa village.

These objectives not only re-define basic education as conceived in Tanzania, but re-emphasize the importance given to education viewed as part of a life-long process.

The Curriculum

The school curriculum was defined in four major areas intended to provide maximum flexibility to meet local needs and priorities:

(1) Functional Literacy and Numeracy:

This area comprises the normal primary school programmes in literacy and numeracy found in other schools in Tanzania and which have been re-designed

for Self-Reliance: to develop the ability to handle numbers easily and confidently and to use them in every day computations; the ability to read with comprehension and to write. These sub-areas are given a large proportion on the timetable since they are the key to the development of a child's abilities.

(2) Political Education or Civic Education includes the child's relationship with, and obligations to, his family, village and society, from a socialist point of view. Thus it includes subject matters like the history, structure and function of TANU, the Ujamaa philosophy, the working of the Government and national and international bodies, and other topics centred on Tanzanian socialism; the environment to be studied insofar as it serves the purpose of the socialist ethic, and is related to national and international history, geography and current affairs. Through political education will be promoted the concepts of brotherhood, dignity and equality of men, respect for others, an obligation to work hard and intelligently, willingness to cooperate, tolerance and friendship among all nations, as defined in the aims of Education for Tanzanian Schools.

(3) Self-Help and Cultural Activities embraces the maintenance of the school and its own "shambas", development projects (which are as much as possible integrated with the development, plan and economic activities of the village), physical education, national music and dancing, sports. Although the development of some skills will be an important part of this curriculum area, the promotion of a self-reliant attitude with regard to the basic essentials, the preservation and growth of national culture will receive greater emphasis.

(4) Community Studies are selected specifically for the development of skills and attitudes necessary for the maintenance of good health, farming and life in an Ujamaa Village. To some extent, the studies are vocational-oriented such as the study of better farming methods, craftswork, building techniques and commercial methods, but studies include also health education and science related to local phenomena and problems (integrated science). Community studies are designed to inspire curiosity about ideas, and urge a desire for deeper understanding and improvement.

Strategy and Implementation

The school consists of 7 classes from Std. I to Std. VII with enrolment of about 280 pupils drawn from the Ujamaa village and from the neighbouring areas. It is a typical school in a typical rural village. In 1971 the Principal of Korogwe College of National Education located in Korogwe town together with some tutors organized a series of meetings with the village elders and the villagers to discuss the programme. Even school children were involved. Party and Government leaders such as the Area Commissioner, TANU leaders, Education and Agricultural Officers, teachers and parents were familiarized with the programme so as to seek their interest and support. This step was considered the most critical for the creation of a favourable climate for the acceptance of the programme. The new school curriculum was put into use in 1973.

The activities of both the village and the school are co-ordinated :

- The village committee consists of 12 parents, 3 teachers, one agricultural instructor, and one nurse.
- The School Committee consisting of 17 members is composed of 10 parents, 4 teachers including the Headmaster and 5 members from the Village Committee.
- Self-help Committee responsible for the short-term and long-term planning of school's activities has 18 members consisting of one member from the Village Committee, one member from the school committee, 3 teachers, 13 pupils.

Financing.

The Government is meeting the cost of teachers' emoluments, school materials, equipment and travel costs of Government officials.

UNICEF's contribution so far has included farming implements worth Shs. 2,785/- for the school, building materials for the

poultry and carpentry unit, and the water pump estimated to cost Shs.35,000/- which is being installed. In the form of self-help the villagers or the community have contributed the following:

- They have built an extension of 2 classrooms to the school
- They have provided free labour in the construction of the poultry unit and the carpentry workshop for woodwork and tin-smithery. This workshop will be used by the primary school leavers as well as by the pupils and other villagers. Local craftsmen from the village will participate in running the classes. The workshop is intended also to go into production.
- A Day Care Centre is run by girls from the community as their contribution to the village. These girls were selected by the village to attend a training course at a nearby Social Training Centre located at Magila.
- They put up a storage building for the school and a shed for preparing mid-day meals.
- They provided uniforms to the school children.

Assessment.

Life in the community has undergone basic changes. Although there has not yet been an objective assessment, attitudes and values have already been established which augur well for future development. The school belongs to the village. The village is involved in what is taking place at the school, and therefore is always aware of what takes place at the school. The villagers participate in the administration and organization of the school. They are participating in teaching various crafts, dances, local history and so on. The villagers themselves attend courses at the school, they sometimes attend in-service courses with their teachers at the Korogwe College of National Education, and sometimes accompany the pupils on study visits. The villagers work side by side with the teachers and pupils in the joint projects. They mix in many social and cultural activities such as football, dancing, singing.

The Principal of the Korogwe College of National Education has the following to say about this programme. Before initiating this programme "the school had a formal subject central curriculum which scantily reflected the life of the village surrounding the school. The villagers generally viewed the school as a centre for formal education for educations sake. Thus there was minimal integration of the school and the society around. Administratively, the school and the villagers operated as separate entities co-existing as logical response to the norms of life only. But now ..... the emphasis has aimed at complete integration of the school life and the Kwamsisi villagers. This is reflected in the general feeling of belonging to one another and thus pull together all their resources and efforts towards the success of the community as a whole. To date, the school is part of the community. This is further confirmed by the fact that administratively, the village chairman is the overall leader of the village including the school".

The projects and activities are selected by the village (including the school) itself according to their own assessment of their needs and capabilities. "From without" mainly through the College of National Education, Korogwe, and from the Ministry flow into the village/school new techniques and new ideas. There is no imposition from outside on what ought to be done.

The Korogwe College staff and the students are participating in the development of the curriculum, drawing up lists of instructional objectives around topics included in the Community Studies syllabus thus involving themselves in research into topics such as bilharzia, diseases of poultry, etc., using appropriate extension officers as resource persons, compiling instructional materials in Kiswahili, printing and copying on an ordinary duplicating paper. These will be guides for teachers and pupils. These materials will reflect local conditions.

This represents a unique and exciting contribution from the students who are part of the nation's intellectual manpower to the reform of the system which they themselves are about

to enter. This pre-service involvement is no doubt an effective way to prepare to spread the reform to other parts of the country.

Observations.

1. The enrolment of villagers' children of school age is 100%.
2. The school and its environment is being transformed in appearance. It is now changing into a pleasant orderly location from a previously dusty and uninteresting site.
3. The villagers give the impression of confidence and capability; children have grown healthier, happier and self-confident.
4. The school timetable is no longer regarded as restrictive or inviolate as in the traditional timetable. It is more and more accepted as a general overall guide.
5. The people's overall assessment of the project after visiting Kwamsisi is that the Kwamsisi type of education should be extended to other schools. Not only is it a promising strategy for the complete primary education reform sought after by Tanzania, but it is a source of inspiration for the way ahead.

This achievement may be attributed to a number of concurrent reforms of pedagogical importance:

(1) The integration of the work of the school with the activities of the village, especially through self-help activities, is forcing a change in the school work from the traditional, irrelevant, academic study to a purposive and practical preparation for the village life. Since such activities emphasize cooperative effort, they reduce the individualist competitive spirit characteristic of the traditional school system.

(2) The participation of pupils in the planning, implementation and management of their self-help activities is helping to destroy the traditional, authoritarian set-up. In its place there develops a learning process which is based on

experience and trust.

(3) The integration of the school with the village has brought new insights for the villagers into the true nature and purpose of education and for the teachers into the true needs of the village.

More primary schools all over the country are now set to move to the next stage, with Kwamsisi as a pilot project.

Recent developments.

Tanzania has been characterized by a continuing series of changes and innovations. In November 1974 TANU, meeting for its biennial conference in Musoma, passed several resolutions which will mean important changes for the educational system.

The first change is that beginning with the July 1975 intake, university selection will no longer be based on form six examinations. There will be no direct entry into university from secondary school. Two years work experience is now a requirement and entrance is based on the combination of results from the National Certificate of Education exams, along with the recommendation of others who have been working with the candidate. The place of work may be an office or factory in the towns or a Ujamaa or development village in the rural areas. The most common pattern for students after university will be to return to the communities or organizations which sent them. Good marks from the sixth form ('A' levels) will no longer be sufficient in themselves for university entry, as the minimum schooling required will now be lowered to four years secondary school.

The changes will counter a tendency towards elitism in the university as the new students will be much more aware of the needs and concerns of their working world. Further, with community service now playing an important part in selection, secondary students who do enter university are more likely to hold attitudes which are favourable to

community or group advancement rather than merely individual aggrandizement. The new selection policies could also serve as a counter to a tendency which had been feared of a disproportionate number of sons and daughters of the bourgeoisie gaining places in higher education. The shift from Form Six to Form Four selection and the addition of the community service criterion will broaden the base slightly. In 1973 Form Four output was estimated at 7,100, while Form Six was 3,400 (Auger, 1971:36).

A second change announced at Musoma in November 1974 was the decision by TANU to press for universal primary education (UPE) by 1977. As there are places (in 1975) for roughly 50 per cent of school-age youth, the implications for manpower and finance are striking. School buildings will be put up by local communities but most of the details are still being worked out. This decision to move U.P.E. forward from 1982 to 1977 is at best a mixed blessing. At worst it may take scarce funds away from the mass adult education programmes which would be much more likely to contribute to the increase in production in rural areas, so necessary through the learning of work-oriented skills and political mobilisation.

Constraints and Contradictions.

Tanzania has by no means found a complete solution to the conflicts and difficulties which beset education. As Nyerere said in May, 1974 "I am becoming increasingly convinced that we in Tanzania either have not yet found the right educational policy or have not yet succeeded in implementing it - or some combination of these two alternatives" (Nyerere, 1974). The contradictions within Tanzanian education are reflections of the contradictions within Tanzanian society. Some of the ways in which the fundamental contradictions manifest themselves are:

(1) Achievement exams are still used at the end of Primary and Secondary school. For university entrance however work and exams and community approval are now required.

(2) Many of those in control of the educational structure are not themselves socialists and yet are required to lead a socialist transformation.

(3) Progressive vs authoritarian values.
The great strength of ESR is that it represents a strong set of progressive ideas with an emphasis on participation. These ideas, together with other elements in the ideology of Ujamaa, come into conflict with the reality of often authoritarian civil service administration or teacher-student relationships.

(4) Academic vs Practical Orientation.
There is a continued preference on the part of most parents, students and teachers for academic subjects of an "international standard" as this continues to be tested for. Those who do not do well in academic subjects and do not get into secondary schools are still regarded as failures.

There has been increased recognition within Tanzania that while education may be a central element in the Tanzanian approach to development, it does not have the strength in itself to bring about the desired changes in society. Education structures reflect the economic structures and cannot except in 'isolated' instances move far in advance of these structures. This can be seen quite clearly in the slow movement towards widespread implementation of education for self reliance. There are continuing difficulties in integrating school into the community. It still makes better economic sense for a boy or girl to struggle to get to secondary school and subsequently to a wage job because they will nearly always be better off than if they stayed in the village. The problem is, however, more complex than merely a skewed pattern of demand for white collar jobs, together with the income and status accorded them. (Hirji, 1973; Mbilinyi, 1974). This to be sure is a major influence on aspirations and attitudes, but the solution is not as simple as a change in salary or wage differentials. In the first place income overlap in terms of consumption power between rural incomes

(Green, 1974). Further the public sector purchasing power differential between maximum and minimum incomes after taxes is about 10:1 (compared to a ratio in China of 8:1). This means that the likelihood of reducing this differential still further is negligible.

The problem is therefore one of increasing the ability of rural areas to produce, which in turn will increase rural consumption power thus increasing the overlap between rural income possibilities and urban wage levels. Education must be linked to productive work in agriculture and other rural skills and to direct improvements in health and nutrition, which in turn will make increased production possible. Both the examples of the two adult education networks (case study 1) and the mass health education campaign (case study 2) have shown promise for the improvement of rural production/consumption. There is a need even within the broad based rural adult education network for a strengthening of the links with productive work.

Tanzania is a nation in transition to socialism. This transition process is by nature dialectical, moving between the varied poles and hence the contradictions. Schooling will not have the influence which educators both within and without Tanzania thought it might, but it has an important role in doing what it can to shape values, even though these are later modified by reality. The gaps presumably will become smaller and smaller vis a vis present day contradictions. New ones will of course occur as in any dynamic process. There are then fundamental changes which can be made now and which will need to be made in the future.

At the same time Tanzania does represent a nation which is attempting to deal with its educational system in a sophisticated and reasoned way. There are many impressive features of the system. The extensive adult education system, the use of mass campaigns, the major changes in university admission policies, and the continued attempts at integrating school and community are very real and important. The contradictions stand out in part because of the existence of the clear view of what the future might be.

There are several points regarding the Tanzanian approach to education which should be borne in mind, particularly for comparative purposes and when considering the usefulness of those ideas elsewhere.

1. Education is consciously seen as provision for the total community of youth and adults.
2. Education is one part of an integrated strategy for egalitarian development which bases itself on a rural transformation.
3. TANU through its network beginning with 10 house cells and the system of decentralized government with development committees from ward to regional level, provides a framework for popular participation of Tanzanians in a decision making process which effects the education provision as well.
4. Results of studies to date suggest that the educational programmes for adults have been generally more successful in integrating education with work than have those for youth.

The question of transferability.

As Tanzania is at one and the same time one of the poorest nations and one of the world's boldest innovators in the question of development generally, and education in particular, the question of transferability of ideas arises quite naturally. Are any of the programmes which have been developed in Tanzania useful to another nation seeking to solve similar problems? Or are Tanzania's characteristics so unique as to rule out transferability? The answer is not simple. Certainly it must be remembered that the Tanzanian educational approach is only one part of an integrated strategy. The attempt to apply an educational strategy within a different framework may have a different effect. It must be recognised that conscious political decisions in Tanzania have led to the changes in economic structures, and both of these have led to the revision of educational patterns. It is impossible to see how major questions of poverty and distribution will be dealt with in any nation, but

particularly in the poorest 25 nations, unless those who are now the poor are given more control over their lives.

Recognizing however that there may be nations or leaders who are committed to substantial changes, which of the Tanzanian programmes is most likely to be useful elsewhere? One programme which has already been tried with some success outside Tanzania has been the mass campaign (case study 2). This large scale approach to group study of development questions has been in use in Tanzania since 1968 (Hall and Dodds, 1974). The basic approach was used in 1973 in Botswana in a campaign to involve groups, often village development committees, in the discussion of the new development plan. The Botswana experience has been written up in some detail by two of the people involved in that campaign (Colclough and Crowley, 1974). For nations seeking positive steps towards increasing participation in fundamental decisions affecting the lives of all population groups, this approach has much to commend it (case study 2).

A second more general approach which might be considered in the interest of provision to those who have fallen outside the schools' reach for so long is the alteration of priorities within the total educational sphere. If education is to be part of a positive strategy of increasing the production and consumption power of the poor within the very urgent time frame which now appears necessary, then very careful consideration must be given to the shift of financial priority from primary, secondary and tertiary education to adult or non-formal education. When combined with productive work and changes in the economic infrastructures such as poverty - focused credit schemes and improved marketing arrangements, broad based adult education programmes will have more rapid and direct impact on development than will any combination of curriculum adaptations or vocational training for children (Hall 1975).

A note on the concept of "efficiency".

Most of the concepts of educational planning owe their origins to the management techniques of larger scale capitalist industry, economic units which are quite obviously

rooted in the need to expand the rate of surplus (profit). The application to education was made first through the 'education as human capital' approaches of the early 1960s and later modified to cost-benefit approaches. One of the central concepts of traditional planning has been that of "efficiency". Efficiency has referred principally to the reduction of wastage in school systems and the manipulation of factors within the schooling system which might affect this efficiency. Mass media, classroom size, training of teachers and adaptation of curricula are all examined and manipulated with a view towards increasing the number of people who get through any given school system per unit cost. Problems of distribution and unemployment are hoped to be solved by an increase in the amount of economic units per person. The assumption is that educational systems with high "wastage" are inefficient and mismanaged; such educational systems and the people within them are behaving irrationally in an economic sense. What this view hides is the fact that both the people and system may in fact be highly rational if the goal of the respective economic systems is to maintain or increase the amount of national wealth in the hands of a small number of people. An over zealousness with concepts of internal educational efficiency covers over the possibility that the economic infrastructure is in fact responsible for the "illogical" performance of the educational system.

The question is of course, could not the concept of "efficiency" be expanded so as to include the elements of distribution. It is possible to construct such tools. Planning formulae could no doubt be designed so as to give weighted emphasis to provision for population groups in say the lower two quintiles of income distribution and this is something which should be attempted. It is much less likely that those in the upper quintiles will alter the nature of employment, wages, tax structures or rural credit schemes in such a way as to make possible the transfer of future economic growth to the present day poor. What is more likely is that the attempt will be to assure just enough redistribution so that the poor will be bought off, but that the "fabric of society" i.e. the economic structures will remain.

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